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The excellent rapport of our staff with Tepoztecans deserves some comment, because it was in such sharp contrast to the poor quality of inter-personal relations among the villagers themselves. I mention this point here because it has an important bearing upon the question of methodology and the reliability of impressions of rural Mexico. There is a natural tendency on the part of anthropologists as well as tourists to judge people by how they act in relationship to oneself. To do this in the case of Tepoztlán (and I suspect that this holds true for much of Mexico) would be to miss some of the essential character traits of the people.

When an anthropologist with the title "el doctor" and university students enter a village like Tepoztlán, they are treated in a special manner. Tepoztecans are sensitive to status distinctions, and many are eager to cultivate people who, they believe, have connections and may be in a position to help them. Many also enjoy talking with outsiders who are *gente de cultura* (cultured people); it gives them a sense of importance. By the same token, this sensitivity to status made others, who for one reason or another were not selected as informants, envious and even vindictive. In short, I should like to emphasize that despite the fact that doors were opened to us and that we have formed many close friendships in the village, Tepoztecans are not always pleasant to each other.

Early in the project I decided to use the barrio[18] and the family as the basic units of research. The seven barrios were still, as in Redfield's time, important locality groupings; and as we have indicated earlier, we considered the study of families fundamental to our research. The first few weeks were therefore spent in an analysis of a population census of the village which had been made a year before by the local authorities with the aid of the schoolteachers. The census data were reorganized first on a barrio basis. Barrio lists of families were drawn up, and each family was assigned a number which thereafter was used to identify that family. In addition, alphabetical lists of all men and women in each barrio were made, with the corresponding family number after each name. In this way we were able to identify all individuals in the village with respect to their barrio and family membership.

As a preliminary to obtaining families that would represent the various socio-economic groupings in the village, several informants ranked the families in each of the barrio lists according to relative wealth and social position. The criteria used in this tentative classification were the ownership of (1) a house, (2) land, or (3) cattle. In this way we obtained a rough idea of the relative economic standing of all the families in the village. On the basis of this, three families, each representing different socio-economic levels, were tentatively selected for study in each of the seven barrios.

After I had been in the village for about a month, the student assistants began to come one at a time. By December there were five students and a field worker in the village, each of whom was placed with a family in a different barrio. While we had some success in placing these student assistants with families that represented differences in socio-economic levels, size, composition, and degree of ac-

[18] Redfield's emphasis upon barrio differences led me to use them in this way, although they were not as important as I had anticipated.

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culturation, we found that there was a greater willingness among the better-to-do and more acculturated families on our list to have one of our staff live with them. Some of the poorer families who expressed willingness to accept a student were unable to do so because of very crowded living conditions. Many of these poorer families were large and lived in a single room.

We were now ready to begin the accumulation of a great variety of information on every family in the village. Each assistant was made responsible for gathering the data in his barrio. In the three smaller barrios, none of which had over forty families, it was possible to get a few informants who knew quite intimately most families in their barrios. In these smaller barrios, for instance, practically any male adult knew quite well who did or did not own land or other property. In the larger barrios no single informant was well acquainted with more than a small percentage of the families, and we therefore had to use many more informants. In effect, we were doing a census in each barrio, with the number of items investigated progressively increasing as our rapport improved, and as we felt free to ask more questions. Among the items of information which we eventually obtained for each family were (1) ownership of property, such as house, land, cattle and other animals, fruit trees, and sewing machines; (2) occupation and sources of income; (3) marital status, number of marriages, barrio of origin or birthplace of each spouse, kinship of all persons then living on the same house site, and other related items; (4) social participation and positions of leadership; (5) educational level and whether or not any of the children had attended school outside the village. These items were obtained on all families and were supplemented by a number of partial surveys on other items. In addition to the information which we obtained ourselves, we also utilized and checked much of the information contained in the census of 1940. We had obtained a special breakdown of the municipio census by individual villages from the Federal Department of Statistics. The information on all these items was checked independently by at least two informants.

Getting accurate data on land-ownership in Tepoztlán was a difficult and delicate matter because of general suspicion of the motives of anyone who undertakes such a study. Our staff worked for many weeks copying the property listing in the local property register for every family in the village. These findings were then compared with the information independently obtained from informants. Many discrepancies were found. The information which we obtained from informants indicated that approximately fifteen of the people who owned land according to our informants were not registered as landowners. On the other hand, we found several cases of land registered in the name of individuals who were not known by our informants to be landowners. By checking all cases in which there was a discrepancy between the data in the register and those of our informants, we believe that we arrived at a reasonably accurate picture of the real situation. In this connection we learned that there was a higher incidence of unregistered land in the outlying villages of the municipio, where such matters are less easily controlled by local authorities.

The question of the size of land plots presented much more difficult problems than the question of land-ownership. Tepoztecans still do not think basically in

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terms of hectares, but rather in terms of the amount of seed needed to plant a plot. Thus a peasant will say he planted so many *cuartillos* of corn or beans, rather than so many hectares or *tareas*. In Tepoztlán the number of *cuartillos* of corn that will cover one hectare varies according to the size of seed and the type of terrain. By and large, however, Tepoztecans consider that ten *cuartillos* of *maíz ancha*, the prevalent type of corn used, make up one hectare in lands used for plow agriculture, which are the only privately owned lands and the only ones we were concerned with. We measured and paced numerous milpas with the aid of the two Mexican agronomists, and found that the quantity of seed for one hectare of land varied between nine and one-half to twelve *cuartillos* of corn. On this basis we accepted the Tepoztecan figure of ten *cuartillos* as reasonably accurate and have used it throughout the study. In checking sample plots for size, we found that the size of plots registered was quite accurate. However, the value of land registered had no relationship to its current value.

With the help of the agronomists, we mapped all the village sites as well as some of the outlying agricultural lands near some of the barrios. On my later visits to the village in 1947 and 1948, I did a study of land types and land use with the assistance of Alberto Beltrán, who drew the maps and aided in surveys. We also carefully examined the municipal records, from which we obtained data on births and deaths over a ten-year period, the number of marriages over an eight-year period, the municipal income and expenditures for a fifteen-year period, and the number and types of court cases from 1926 to 1944.

We would like to say a word about our use of Tepoztecans as assistants. We took advantage of the presence of a number of intelligent and fairly well-educated Tepoztecans in the village by employing them as assistants in many of the surveys. This saved us a great deal of time and effort, and we were able to collect a wider variety of data than would otherwise have been possible. In addition to surveys, we obtained autobiographies, written accounts of experiences during the Revolution, a daily record over a short period of all visitors to the Municipal Palace and the purpose of the visits, written accounts of the local political situation by various political figures in the village, collections of stories, jokes, and sayings, and case histories of quarrels among neighbors and among relatives. We were gratified that several of our Tepoztecan assistants proved to be such helpful and reliable workers.

While we were gathering this information for the village as a whole, each of our student assistants was recording data and observations on the families with which they were living. A long, detailed guide for observing and recording behavioral data and for the writing of life histories was prepared by Ruth Lewis as an aid to the students. Again, we secured the cooperation of the more educated members of families in keeping daily records, in answering special questionnaires, or in writing up special subjects.

The testing program was carried out in the school, and the testing group was made up of fifty children of school age selected from our list of twenty-one representative families. The families represented each of the socio-economic levels and each of the barrios. The psychological tests which we endeavored to give to each child in the testing group were the Rorschach, the Grace-Arthur Performance Scale,

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of whom were Tepoztecans. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, a salary for the secretary, and for office equipment.

The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotitlán.

Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

> In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them.

Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the Fraternales. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecans, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the Fraternales was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved.

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the Fraternales reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecans.

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FEDERICO P.: He ruled for about ten years. Then he beat his wife terrifically, but later he began to show all the signs, and now he says nothing.
CLAUDIO L.: He ruled in his house for about three years. His wife had wanted to marry someone else, but her parents forced her to marry him. She began to run around with other men. She has a son of twenty years and still runs around.

Our informant, a widower, remarked about himself, "I used to say to my wife, 'I rule in my home. If you butt into my business I will kill you.' I didn't weaken, so she never ruled. Sometimes I feared she might give me some of this stuff but, thank God, she never did."

Wives who "answer" their husbands and resist their authority sometimes earn the reputation of being witches, particularly if their mothers were suspected of being witches. A wife who continues to have female friends after marriage is sometimes said to be one of a group of witches. Girls with some education also are apt to be suspected, because they do not assume a submissive role after marriage. The following case illustrates this:

A girl living in one of the smaller barrios was recently married. This girl had attended normal school and had several friends who had been her classmates there. She is known to be unusually jolly, active, aggressive, and is very pretty. After marriage, she went to live in her mother-in-law's house and soon came into conflict with her. She was so impertinent and aggressive, both to her mother-in-law and her husband, that the former began to suspect her of being a witch. Her suspicions increased when she saw that her son did nothing to control the girl and continued to show affection for her. The mother-in-law began telling people that her daughter-in-law was a witch, because when she was scolded she kept looking into the person's eyes to try to get him under her power. She elaborated this by saying that one night she saw the devil jump in at the window and carry off the girl, and that the next morning the girl was found naked near the stream.
The mother-in-law's stories came to the ears of the girl, who laughingly told her friends that from now on she was going to act like a witch and frighten her mother-in-law. She invented a little technique whereby she covered her face with her outspread fingers and stared through them with big eyes whenever her mother-in-law or husband scolded her. People say that she has both of them in her power now because when she does that, they both become quiet and keep their heads down. The young wife continues to see her friends, who have now all become known as witches among the less "modern" portion of the population.

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Information concerning the sexual relations between husbands and wives is rather difficult to obtain, because of the prevailing taboos. Even trusted informants were reluctant to discuss their intimate marital relations. This was especially true of the older generation. However, some of our younger informants gave us much material. We found that older women generally spoke more freely about sex than older men, once their confidence was gained. Widows, who have a reputation in Tepoztlán for being worldly, were among our best informants.

In sexual relations as in social relations in Tepoztlán, the husband is expected to

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training begins, children are sometimes spanked. More occasion arises for spanking during and after weaning and after the birth of another sibling. Most parents believe it is important to punish a child when young, and some children receive their first severe beatings at three or four years of age.

For example, I saw a three-year-old boy beaten with a switch by his father. The boy had been annoying the father while he was cleaning beans. When the father scolded the boy sharply, he began to cry. Because the boy refused to stop crying, the father went over to a bush, tore off a long thin switch and beat him hard. The mother, who was also cleaning beans, paid no attention. The boy did not go to the mother, but ran off to the corral where he sobbed quietly for a long time. Beatings of this sort are rare before five years of age.

Fathers usually punish with a beating, using a stick or a rope. Mothers also sometimes do this, but more often they hit with their hands, or they may slap, pinch, kick, shake, or even throw a stone or two at the offending child. Sharp scolding, calling names, not being allowed to play, being put to work at something unpleasant, and being put out of the house and denied food are other ways of punishing.

In the themes entitled, "My Worst Punishment," written for us by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in school, we learned of several other types of punishment. One boy wrote that he was severely beaten with a rope and then tied up all night by his mother for having grumbled too much. Another was not allowed to lie down and go to sleep when he wanted to. Not being bought new clothes or not being taken to fiestas are considered severe punishments by girls, and both boys and girls mentioned that they did not like to be scolded or shamed before others. Occasionally a boy is punished by having to do work ordinarily done by girls, such as carrying corn to the mill. It is particularly embarrassing for an eleven- or twelve-year-old boy to stand in the long queue of women and girls to wait his turn at the mill. Girls who are incorrigible may not be permitted to leave the house for a week or two.

Both boys and girls are punished for disobedience, for breaking or losing things, for grumbling or rudeness, or for doing things without permission. Girls are more often punished for coming home late from school or from an errand, and for mistreating young brothers and sisters or other children. Punishment for these offenses is usually quite severe. Boys are more often punished in connection with their work of taking care of the animals; they are beaten for playing when they should be watching the animals, for losing animals, or for bringing them home late. Small boys often have difficulty in handling oxen and cows and may be punished for acts they could not avoid. Boys are also often punished at home and at school for absenting themselves from school to go swimming.

Physical punishment still occurs in the school, although there is a law forbidding it. It is much less severe than in the past and consists of slapping, pulling hair or ears, and hitting with a ruler. I saw one teacher instructing her third-grade class with a switch in her hand, which she occasionally used against the legs of some inattentive child. Beatings with a switch are relatively rare and are applied only to

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593 602 Attachment to people on the part of children often depends upon or results from the receiving of some material good. They will seek out or be loyal to whichever parent or relative gives them what they want when they want it. It is common for children to say, "I like him because he gives me good things." The psychological [124] tests and themes written by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades contain evidence of this. One boy wrote that he was very sad when his uncle died, because his uncle used to give him pennies. Another girl said, "I like my aunt best because she takes me to fiestas." Similarly, a mother, in discussing her children's attitudes toward their grandmother said, "Naturally, Delfina liked her grandmother more than the other children do, because her grandmother gave her more."

593 868 The father assumes an important role in the life of his son when the boy is old enough to go to the fields. Most boys enjoy working in the fields with their father and look forward with great anticipation to being permitted to join him. Fathers, too, are proud to take their young sons to the fields for the first time, and frequently show great patience in teaching them. But even when father and sons go to the fields together day after day, there is no lessening of the respect relations. The father maintains the role of teacher, and when he speaks it is to teach or advise his [521] son. Boys generally do not speak much in the presence of their fathers. Talk about intimate subjects, telling jokes, or discussing women is strictly taboo, generally even after the sons are married.

593 866 594 Regardless of age or marital state, a son is under his father's authority as long as he lives and works with his father. The son receives no recompense other than his support and care and what spending money he can get from his mother or father. Some fathers are generous and permissive in their treatment of grown sons who do a man's work; others are not and continue to treat them as children. Comparatively few unmarried sons leave home to seek work elsewhere. Even boys who are very dissatisfied with their situation at home are reluctant to strike out for themselves. Among youths there is a certain apprehensiveness of the outside, a fear of falling ill among strangers, of having to do menial and laborious work, of not having the backing of a family in case of trouble, and of not being properly respected by others. The economic dependency of sons upon their parents, as well as a desire for a share of the inheritance, prevents most sons from leaving home. The dependence is mutual; fathers are eager to have their sons remain at home to help support the family, and temper their behavior accordingly. In most homes, grown sons who work enjoy the same service and care received by their father.

593 Although there is some feeling that a father should be a good example for his sons, there is no emphasis upon this. The father feels entitled to his son's respect regardless of his behavior. In this sense, the role of the Tepoztecan father is quite different from that of the father in the German family, for example. The German father generally seeks respect based upon awe and admiration; the Tepoztecan father is content with respect based upon fear and prerogative. Thus, in Tepoztlán, [273] although most fathers forbid their sons to drink, this does not prevent the father from drinking in the presence of his sons. When a father gets drunk, it is the

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religious life of the people, both in the parish Church of Santa Maria del Asunción, which is situated on the central plaza, and in the various fiestas and other activities of the neighborhoods or barrios. The investigator and his wife were accepted in the parish Church as well as in all of the barrio chapels, as practicing Catholics, rather than as interested onlookers. This was the major point of departure, which aided us in dealing with informants, and in interpreting religious practices, because of having familiarity with the intentions and meaning of Catholic rituals and ceremonies. To the degree to which a religious belief or experience may be considered a fact, we shared with the village people a common reality, vital to us and to them.

All of the seven barrios and their chapels were visited by the investigator. A plan was worked out by which some selectivity operated in making our observations. The barrio and chapel of Santa Cruz were visited during the annual fiesta, which occurred early in our stay, and gave us an introduction to the way in which deep religious feeling and social festivity are fused in their expression in the fiestas in this village. The barrio and chapel of San Sebastian were visited a number of times in connection with a fiesta which will be reported later in this paper. The barrio and chapel of San Miguel were chosen for daily visits, at varying times of the day, in order to find out what might be expected in a particular barrio chapel. The parish Church was visited on the same basis, for purposes of comparison and contrast. This brought about opportunities for frequent observations in the barrio and chapel of La Santissima, which is contiguous to the plaza. The barrio and chapel of Santo Domingo, lying below the plaza on the slope toward the valley, and the barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes near the crest of the hillside high above the plaza, all three are more distant from the center of activity and were less frequently visited.

Interviews with informants were non-directed and limited in scope. Aid was proferred from several sources, and in general the field work notes were gathered with an eye toward the priest's position and activities, and the activities of certain